

MODERN  
POLICIES,

Taken from

Machiavel, Borgia,

And other Choice

AUTHORS,

By an Eye-Witness.

---

Hom. *And tū pūi vōi, ē pūi vōi*

Salust. *Fragm.*

*Libidinem dominandi, causam belli habent, & maximam gloriam  
in maximo imperio putant.*

Plautus in *Captivis.*

*Nam doli, non doli sunt, nisi Astu colas.  
Sed malum maximum si id palam pervenit.*

Trinummus.

*Ambitio jam more sanctaest, liberaest à Legibus.  
Petere honorem pro flagitio, more sit:  
Mores Leges perduxerunt jam in potestatem suam.*

---

L O N D O N,

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MADRID  
POLICIA

STANLEY, BOYD

ALL THOSE

By Sir P. W. W. W.

Home, and to the rest of the world.

and the rest of the world.

and the rest of the world.

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DEDICATORY

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To My very Good LORD,

My LORD R. B. E.

*My Lord,*

**I** Was never so proud, as to think I could write any thing that might abide the test of your judicious Eye: what I now send, appeals to your Candor, entreating you to lay aside the Person of a Judge, for that of a Friend. It is at best but a Pamphlet, whether you consider its bulk, or worth. The result of a few pensive hours spent in recollecting what the Memory had registred from publick Observance, or private Reading, in a Theme so sadly copious as this is. If it be not impertinent to tell you what hinted to this trifle, it was this: Having had opportunity to look abroad into the World, I took some notice of the Contrasts of the *Italian Princes*, I remarked the *Spaniards* griping *Portugal*, his Grounds for the Challenge of that Kingdom, and his way of managing those Grounds; I look'd upon his method of propagating Christianity in the *West*; (where one says, *The Indian* is bound to be religious and poor, upon pain of death.) Moreover, I observed with what Artifice the *Pope* moderated in the *European Quarrels*, and with what devices he twisted the Gospel, and the advantage of the Chair together, and in all the Strugglings and Disputes, that have of late years befallen this corner of the World, I found, that although the pretence was fine and Spiritual, yet the ultimate end and true scope, was Gold, and Greatness, and Secular Glory. But, *My Lord*, to come near, when I saw Kingdoms tortering, one Nation reeling against another, yea, one piece of a Nation jussling the other, and split into so many Parties, and petty Enmities; and each of these quoting Bible to palliate his mad and ex-

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orbitant Opinions; I sigh'd, and it grieved me, to see popular easiness, and well meaning, abused by ambitious self-seeking Men; for there is a Generation that is born to be the Plague, and Disquiet, and Scourge of the Age it lives in: that gladly Sacrifice the publick Peace to private Interest; and when they see all fired, with Joy warm their Hands at those unhappy Flames, which themselves kindle, tuning their merry Harps, when others are weeping over a Kingdoms Funeral.

But, above all, it pierceth my heart to see the Clergy in such an high degree accessory to the civil Distempers and Contentions, that have every where shaken the Foundations of Church and State, so that (as the Catholick noted) there hath been no flood of Misery, but did spring from, or at least was much swell'd by their Holy water. I searched the Evangelical Records, and there was nothing but mild and soft Doctrines: I enquired into the breathings of the Spirit, and they were pacificatory, I wondered from what Precedents and Scripture-incouragements these men deduced their Practices, and at last was forced to conclude, that they were only pretended Chaplains to the Prince of Peace: Those Torches that should have been for saving Light, were degenerated into Fire-brands; Those Trumpets that should have sounded Retreats to popular Furies, knew no other Musick but Martial All-arms.

I have endeavored in the Sequel, to represent to you the Arts of Ambition, by giving you the picture of a Person over-covetous of Glory: The piece is coarse, but yet like; drawn only in water Colors, which some of greater Leisure and Abilities may possibly hereafter lay in Oyl.

*Ambitious.* You know, that the Desires of man are vast as his Thoughts, boundless as the Ocean, *infinite, insatiable, insatiable, insatiable*. A bored Tub is not more insatiate. 'Tis pity that Greatness should at any time be out of the road of Goodness; and I would sometimes, if I durst, with *Socrates*, curse him that first separated, profitable and honest.

It does to me a little relish of Paradox, that where ever I come, *Machiavel* is verbally cursed and damn'd, and yet practically embraced



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braced and asserted; for there is no Kingdom but hath a Race of Men that are ingenious at the peril of the Publick; so that as one said of *Galba*, in respect of his crooked Body, *Ingenium Galbae male habitat*; so may I say of these, in regard of their crooked Use; That Wit could not have chosen a worse Mansion, than where it is viciated and made a Pander to Wickedness.

If you ask me, what I mean to trouble the World, that is already under such a glut of Books; You may easily perceive, that I consulted not at all with advantaging my Name, or wooing publick Esteem by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked Truth in it, and thought it might possibly be of some caution to prevent the Insinuation of pious Frauds, and religious Fallacies, into my native Countty; If any plain-hearted honest Man shall cast away an hour in perusing it, he may perhaps find something in it, resembling his own Thoughts, and not altogether strange to his own Experience. It is not the least of our Misfortunes, that Sins and Vices are oft-times endear'd to us by false Titles and Complements; being cozen'd with a specious name, though much incoherent to the thing we ascribe it: or else, omitting the Vice which is the Main, it intimates only the Virtue, which is the By: As for Example, we call an ambiguous Man, *μεγαλοπρεπής*, a Person of noble Aim, and high Enterprize: whereas in truth, it signifies, an indirect affecter of Grandeur: And I find, that by entertainment of these Phrases, our Judgments are often bribed to misapprehensions, and we seduced to bad Actions. I have endeavor'd in the ensuing Discourse, to wipe off the paint and fucus: that so things may appear in their true Complexion, unadulterated with the slights and subtilties of Deluders.

*My Lord*, That your Lordship may be one of those which the dark Poet calls *δυσήθους*, that the youth of your Honors may be renewed to you, that your Happiness may know no other Season but a Spring, is the earnest vote

*Of Your bounden Servant,*

W. Blois.

To

# To the READER.

Reader,

**T**hat nothing in this might deter a common Eye, the Quotations are translated, not *Ætius*, but as might best serve the sense and scope of the Author: yet I believe thou wilt find little in the English, which is not warranted by the Original, or (which is more) by the Truth. I invite none to it, but such as desire to be just valuers, and loyal observers of a good Conscience. Now, if thou beest not banished by the verdict of thine own breast, thou art welcome; otherwise read it, not as directed to thee, but meant of thee. This Book is like a Garment in a Brokers Shop, not designed to any one Person, but made for any that it fits.

My intent was to represent to you in the general (not mentioning particulars) a cursed, a wicked, but yet a fortunate Politician: 'Twas a good caution, that Cassius gave the Senate, concerning Pompey, *Nos illum deridemus, sed timeo ne ille nos gladio* *ἀντιπροσέειπε*. 'Tis foolish to laugh in the face of Dionysius, and dangerous to struggle before Andronicus: 'Tis not good to tempt the displeasures of Tyrants upon idle scores, a thin shield will serve to keep out the stile of a Satyrist; nor can I commend him that lost his Bishoprick for a Romance.

Therefore I brand not Persons but things; and if any mans guilt flashes in his face when he reads, let him mend the error, and he is unconcern'd. 'Tis to no purpose to tell that there is a second part, twin, and coetaneous to this, that was once intended to run the same fortune; but I have many reasons, besides my own weakness, to publish a valediction to the Press, (especially as to discourses of this nature.) And if ever, I would fain have it seen by a fairer light.

The great God of Heaven pour into us such inward props and comforts, as may help us to stem and bear up against the rugged traverses of degenerate times.

And let it beget in us milder opinions of Adversity, when we consider that the winter of Affliction does the better fit us to bear the eternal verdure of Glory.

The time will come when all Shadows and Apparitions shall vanish: Glorious Morn! when wilt thou dawn? Then these sullen Clouds shall be scattered, Right restored, Worth prized, Virtue honored, Vice degraded, and Honesty rewarded.

Farewel.

The

THE Name of *Prince*, which I often use, must be understood, as convertible with any Person, or Persons, whom God hath intrusted with a just Supremacy; all the Dialects of Government being concerned in the abuse; I have made the chief, and most familiar to represent the rest.

I am not ignorant, that the Quotations may justly seem more numerous than Method, and the rule of Art will conveniently allow. I have this to say, to vindicate me from Affectation; that I have been little studious of Elegance and Curiosity in the Composure; esteeming Nakedness to be the best dress of Truth: and if I mistake not, those Attendants I have here procured her, may afford some material, though little ornamental Advantage.

## A Premonition.

IT is far from the design of this Treatise, to derogate from the Honor of the Calling, or Worth of the Person of any sober States-man; 'Tis a Knowledge that no man observes with more due Respects than my self; Because, I know it in no mean degree essential to the Peace and flourishing Condition of a Kingdom or Commonwealth. 'Tis a Jewel to be lock'd up in some few rare Cabinets; and not to be made cheap, and expos'd to Irreverence, by being bared, and prostituted to every vulgar Eye. The *Pseudo-Policy* here mentioned, is contradistinct to that Science which is ever built upon Piety and Prudence; for upon these solid Bases, your wise Architect delights to raise the glorious superstructure of Government in a Prince, and  
Subjection

## A Premonition.

Subjection in a People: so knitting the Interest of both, with reciprocal mixture, that the welfare of the one may be involved in the good of the other: that Majesty may be preserved in its just splendor, and yet the liberty of the Subject remain inviolate: He is the *Atlas* of the falling State, cures it when sick, sets it when disjointed, meets it in its several pressures with suitable reliefs. Such was *Philip de Commynes*, of whom one said, It was a measuring cast, whether *Lewis* were the wiser King, or *Philip* the wiser Counsellor; such was *Burleigh* to our late Queen *Elizabeth*, whose advice had very eminent Influence into the Prosperity of her Reign, which was such as I believe few Ages can parallel, and future Times will render her happy Annals, as written like *Xenophon's Cyrus*, *Non ad historiae fidem sed ad exemplum justi Imperii*; discovering not so much what was, as what should be: not intended for a true History, but for the Effigies of a just Empire. So that if we love Peace, or Plenty, or Liberty, we are bound in way of Acknowledgment, to own that in *Plutarch*,  $\tau \alpha \pi \alpha \lambda \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \alpha \rho \epsilon \tau \eta \varsigma \alpha \nu \theta \omega \pi \omicron \tau \omega \nu \epsilon \kappa \tau \alpha \nu \tau \omega \nu \pi \lambda \epsilon \iota \sigma \tau \iota \epsilon \alpha \nu$ . True Policy deserves to be put in the first file of Virtues.

But as the Corruption of the best things makes them worst, so this noble Knowledge hath been abused to loose and ambitious Ends, by some men who seem to have suck'd the venome out of all Politicks, misapplying what was good, and creating new, according to the urgency of their own Occasions, like the Laws that were made in *Cainus's Babel*, to be ruled by Manners, and not Manners by Laws. They vex true Policy by misinterpreting, and false glossing; framing in their Hearts, *Dianaes* of Hypocrisie and Subtilty, and worshipping them in their Actions.

The Rules following, there are few so silly as to believe, though too many so wicked as to practise; and not only so, but by a bold Imposture to perswade, that such Actions as are deduc'd from those Principles are justifiable, and if fortunate, commendable.

That all may see these Rocks and shun them, and detest Knavery, though never so specious, and nauseate Sin, though robed in Successes and Triumphs, is my daily Prayer.

FIRST

150 Maj.

phyoge-  
is, &  
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trialibm  
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ran.

## Principle I.

*The Politician must have the shadow of Religion, but the Substance burts.*

**T**here is no Superstition in Politicks more odious, than to stand too much upon Niceties and Scruples; and therefore *Machiavel* cut the Hair, when he advised, not absolutely to disavow Conscience, but to manage it with such a prudent neglect, as is scarce discernable from a tenderness: not permitting it to be techy and reluctant, nor yet prostituting it, unless upon solemn and insupportable occasions: He notes it from *Papirius* in *Levy*, who slighted the *Pullaris* handfomely, and was rewarded; whereas *Appius Pulcher* did it grossly, and was punished.

But because the Politician is best able to tell his own Documents, you may please to conceive you found these broken Discourses in his Study: To each of which I shall add an Antidote.

External Holiness invites awful regards; there is no Mask that becomes Rebellion and Innovation so well as Religion; Nothing that so much conceals Deformity, and pretends Beauty. 'Tis an excellent thing so to dissimulate Piety, that when we act strongly against it, in that very Article of Wickedness the People Saint us: *Herod* would fain Worship, when he means to Worry.

-- *Ipso scelere molimine Terentius* | In th' act of sin do but Religion cry,  
*Creditor esse pius:* | Says *Terentius*, you as holy are as I.

This is that which leads the World in a String, that hallows the most hellish Enterprises: for the common People (which are the *το πολὺ*) never see behind the Curtain, a handsome Gloss is with them as good as the Text; I believe the great Naturalist was in the right, when he called a Deity a jolly invention; *Irridendum*, Plin. l. 2. Cap. 6.  
*agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid est summum; sed credi ex usu vite est:* 'Tis ridiculous to think that God troubles himself about sub-  
lunary things, but 'tis not fit the World should know it. Let me en-



joy the temporal advantages of Religion, and let others take the Eternal; let me use it for a Cloak, or a Crutch, and let others expect from it a Crown.

43 *Fons in  
Mileto, cu-  
jus profu-  
ens aqua  
dulcissima,  
que verò in  
imo salsa.*

The River in *Athenaus* is my Emblem, whose upper Waters were sweet and grateful, but towards the bottom brackish. Let me be a superficial, let others be fundamental Christians: I like the humour of the *Samsens* in *Epiphanius*, that were neither Jews nor *Gentiles*, nor *Christians*, but preserving a commodious Correspondence with all; whatsoever I act in reference to Heaven, is merely Theatrical, and done in subordination to some other interest. *Lycurgus* could never have ingratiated his Laws so effectually, if he had not pretended a Dialogue with his Goddess. 'Tis to me indifferent, whether the Religion I personate be true or false, so it be but popular: and if the People I mean to juggle with, err fundamentally; I can by no means court them more, than by embracing their Delusion. It buckles them very close to me in moral observance, to assist them in their spiritual fondness, and mix with their Distemper; and therefore I commonly lead the Van in the Faction, and call it *Jure Divino*, though I never found it but in Hells black Canons.

How comfortably the *Pope* and *Cardinals* conferred notes; -- *Quantum nobis lucris peperit illa fabula de Christo?* How profitable has the Tale of *Christ* been to us? O the rich income and glorious result of Hypocrisy! This, this must be diligently studied and practised.

-- *Da justum sanctumque videri,  
Noctem peccatis, & frandibus  
objice nubem.*

If that my deeds of darkness may  
Be hid in Clouds as black as they;  
If being ugly I may paint,  
Why then I am a true new Saint.

Privacy for a Sin, and cleanly Conveyance for a Cheat, make it to common Eyes seem as white as Innocency it self; the strictness of that Thief was very notable, who always before he went about the work of his Calling (for so he called Stealing) went to Prayers, that God would bless and prosper him: So, I say grace to the Design, be it never so wicked, and give thanks for the Success, be it never so bloody.

But further in subserviency to a loose Interest, there must be no such pulling thing as Conscience: Hell, and Heaven, and Scripture,

Scripture, and what else the Christian esteems most sacred, must all truckle under the Plot, but not be observed when they come to oppose it: Had Alexander besieged an invading other Mens Kingdoms, he had never wept for the scarcity of Worlds. There is no greater obstacle to generous Actions, than a coy and squeamish Conscience; 'Tis pretty that some tell us that it strikes *Sardo verberè, With a still and silent stroke*, and then how can it be heard in the noise and bustle of a clamorous World? Had your mighty Conquerors, and your valiant Captains, and your thriving Popes, listned to this inward Charmer; their Names had never swell'd, and look'd big in the Rolls of Fame.

## COLASTERION.

**B**UT let all sober Christians know, that this shell of Religion, though it may be of external conducement; yet there is nothing that God's pure and undeluded Eye looks on with more abhorrence: We may possibly deceive Men, but it is in vain to put Ironies upon God. A counterfeit Religion shall find a real Hell, and 'tis pity that such a sacred thing should be violenc'd, and made subservient to rebellious irregular Designs.

As for such who have conspir'd with the wrath of God in the stupefaction of their Consciences; though they may for a time struggle with those inward checks, yet there will be a day (if not in this life) when that Witness, that Judge, that Jury, will not be bribed. God hath fix'd it in the Soul, as an internal Registor, as an impartial Diary, as the *Censor* of the Affections, and Pedagogue of the Passions. It does not only illustrate Divine Justice in an *Autocatacrisy*, but was meant by God for a Bridle and Restriction; And he that hath by an inveterate wickedness conquered the opposition which God seated in his Heart to Sin, may possibly consult well with his present advantage and greatness, but not at all with his future Comfort; for besides the loss of that intimate pleasure which waits upon Innocency, He feels sometimes those Bosom quarrels that verberate and wound his Soul,--- for

Origell.

Vinium in  
peccatore.

Συνείδησις τῆς ψυχῆς ἀντίθετος.

## Principle II.

*The Politician must by all means make the most insinuating Applications to the People that he can, and lock up his own Design, in pretence for Religion, Liberty, Restitution of Laws, Reformation of Customs, &c.*

**T**HE prosperity of Innovation depends in a high measure upon the right knack of kindling and fomenting Jealousies, and dislikes in the People; and then wielding those Grudges to the favour and advantage of private Ends; for the People are to the Politician, like Tools to the Mechanick, he can perform nothing without them, they are his Wings, his Wheels, his Implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually, there must be an excellency in these following flights.

*First*, To assign such a cause of Grievances, and such a course for Redress, as may open a way to the alteration he aims at; as, if he means to alter the Government, or to engross the Supremacy, he must artificially convince of a necessity to Arm. 1. Defensively, and if that succeeds, 2. Offensively: This he may do by false alarms of Danger, inventing horrid News, and plying the People with such fictitious Perils, as may make them believe Religion and Liberty, and all is at stake, and that they are the Geese that must save the Capitol.

*Secondly*, When he sees opportunity to reveal his own design, he must do it gradually, and by piece-meal; for that which at one view would be a Mormo to fright them, give it them in small parts, and they will digest it well enough.

*Thirdly*, He must compose his very Garb and Gesture: 'tis a great matter to tell a lye with a grace; as, if Religion be the Mode, he must in his Tales knock his Breast, attest God, and invoke imprecations upon himself if he does not do that, which he never intends.

*Fourthly*, He gives them good Words, and bad Actions, like those the Historian brands with a *Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem*

*satem initis*, ravishes them with apprehensions of Liberty, under the highest strain of Oppression; for it is most certain, if you please them with the Name, they will embrace it for Name and Thing. Something like this had been imposed upon *Rome*, when the Orator writ to his Friend *Atticus*, --- *Nomina rerum perdidimus, & licentia militaris libertas vocatur*, That they were cheated in Names, for Military Licence was mis-called Liberty: This is well described by *Plautus* in *Truculento*. Ingeniosius  
muscipulores.

*In melle sunt lingua sita  
vestra, atque orationes,  
Lacteque: corda felle sunt  
sita, atque acerbis aceto.  
Elinguis dicta dulcia datis,  
at corde amarè facitis.*

Pretence white as Milk,  
And as soft as Silk,  
will do the feat:  
Your Hearts as fowre as Gall,  
Purpose our thrall,  
and thus you cheat.

*Fifthly*, He observes, that they receive probabilities wisely propounded, more greedily than naked Truths; and therefore he is very studious to glaze and polish his Impostures, that so they may to a loose Eye dissemble Truth, according to that of *Pindar*,

— Βερύβ' φρίνα —  
ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθὴ λόγον,  
δεδουλωμένοι ἰδίῃσι ποικίλοις,  
ἔξαπταιν ὁ μῦθος.

τὸ πῶτα δὲ ἴσχυι τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχει  
ἐνὶ στήθεσσι, καὶ πῶτα πείσαν ὁ χυλ.

Glorious Lyes,  
Well marshal'd Tales  
Do still find favour:  
Truth all forlorn,  
Intreats and Woes,  
But none will have her,  
But that of *Menander*.

γλυκύ  
ἰσθῆς

Let but the vulgar judge  
(the Poet knew)  
They'd take the probable,  
and leave the true.

*Sixthly*, When he hath by the assistance of the People, got the Sword into his own Hands, he awes them with it, and frights them into future compliance. He that courted them before with all the adulatory terms that Ambition could invent, or they receive; as if he had been vow'd their Martyr, and ready to sacrifice his dearest

dearest Enjoyments upon the Altar of publick Liberty and Freedom, as if his Veins knew no other Blood, but such as he would be proud to spend in their Service; having now served himself of them, he forgets the Bosom that warmed him, they hear from him now in a palinode; he curls up his smooth Compliments into short Laconick, and exchanges his Courtship for Command.

## COLASTERION.

First, We may be assured, that there is no greater Index of Ambition than an affectation of Popularity; which appears in meek Addresses to the People, wooing and familiar Condescensions, bemoaning their Sufferings, commending a more vigorous sense of them; that of the *Comick* is no bad Rule.

<i>Non temerarium est ubi dives</i>	'Tis not for naught, when those
<i>blande appellat pauperem,</i>	
<i>Altera manu fert lapidem,</i>	
<i>panem ostentat altera:</i>	
<i>Nemini credo, qui longe</i>	
<i>blandu'st dives pauperi.</i>	(above Tender their service & their love. These are but profitable Arts, Their Tongues are strangers to (their Hearts.

Or that which *Livy* notes of a Grandee, *Credebant haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem fore, Pride never condescends without design.* The extream kindness or fawning of great Persons, is always suspicious, because often fraudulent: Remember the *Sileni*, that use to kill with Hugs and Embraces.

Secondly, Know, it is very usual for Men to personate Goodness, till they have accomplished their ends; 'tis observed of *Ap-pius*, when he had his wish, *Finem fecit gerendæ alienæ personæ*; He left wearing of another Man's person: 'Tis an old Note.

<i>Maxima pars morem hanc homines</i>	Before the Man
<i>habent; quod sibi volunt,</i>	
<i>Dum id impetrant, boni sunt, sed id</i>	
<i>ubi jam penes sese habent,</i>	
<i>Ex bonis pessimi, &amp; fraudulentis-</i>	
<i>simi sunt.</i>	Had got his end, He was all Puritan: What he would have, He thus obtain'd, And then resumed Knave.

*Athenaus* tells a pretty story of one *Athenion*, born obscurely, who as long as he was private and poor, excelled in a soft and tractable



stable disposition; but when by juggling he had obtained the *Athenian* Government, there was none more odious for a cruel, covetous, and barbarick Tyranny; as it is reported of *Caligula*, there was never a better Servant, and a worse Master.

*Thirdly*, We know, that a good aim, much less a good pretence cannot justify a bad Action; and therefore we ought to be as solicitous about the lawfulness of the Means, as about the goodness of the End. It is a *Maxim* in Morality, that *bonum oriatur ex integritate*, and in Christianity, that we must not do Evil, that Good may come of it; and we may possibly rescue our selves from future Conzenage, if we examine the lawfulness of every circumstance, leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and transported with the Beauty of the Pretence.

### Principle III.

*If the Supremacy be invaded, the Lapses of the former Magistrats must be inculcated with the greatest advantage, and what is wanting in Reality, must be supplied in Calumny.*

**I**T cannot easily be imagined of what singular importance the aspersing and blotting of a Prince is, to boil up popular discontent to that height, which is requisite for a Rebellion; and here it must diligently be enquired, if there have not been indeed such Lapses, as have galled the People; and though they be old Sores and skin'd, yet they must be searched and refreshed, and exasperated with all the urging Circumstances that come within the invention of Scandal: It must be remembred, if any persons of publick note have suffered under the Sword of Justice, whose Crimes can by Art or Eloquence be extenuated, whose hard measure must be mentioned with Tears, that so old Traytors may be propounded for new Martyrs. This hath been the ordinary Method of Ambition, as you may find it noted by a great Scholar, in these words, — *Fuit hac omnibus seculis, & adhuc est ad occupandam tyrannidem expeditissima via, dum summo se amore, ac pietate patriam esse simulant, principum vicia, & populi miseriam,*

*Barcklay  
contra Mo-  
narc. 30*

*miseriam, apud suos primam, deinde palam querebunda voce lamen-  
rantur, non quo plebem, cuius solius commodis inserviri videri volunt,  
ab illo servitutis iugo afferant in libertatem; sed quo populari aura sub-  
nixi, adiutur sibi & januam ad eam ipsam dignitatem, nequiora ali-  
quando, ausuri patefaciant.* It was ever the most compendious way  
of Usurpation, to dissemble a strong Affection to our Country;  
lamenting the Vices of the Prince, and Miseries of the People; not  
with an intent to rescue them from Servitude, but to get such a  
portion of Favour, as may lift us up to the same pitch of Honour  
on their Shoulders; which having obtained, we transcendently  
abuse, changing the Rod of Royalty into the Scorpions of Anar-  
chy, Aristocracy, or a free State.

'Tis the fashion of fortunate Rebels, to feed the People with  
Shells, and empty Names, as if their bare assertion could demon-  
strate to us (against all Experience) that 'tis freedom to be Slaves  
to *Quondam* Peasants, and slavery to be Subjects to a true and na-  
tural Prince. And therefore if the Prince be severe, he gives  
them *Nero's* brand, a Man kneaded up of Dirt and Bloud; if he  
be of Parts and Contrivance, he calls it pernicious Ingenuity: If  
he be mild and favourable to tender Consciences, he declaims a-  
gainst his Toleration. If he urge Uniformity and Decency in  
Divine Service, he rails at his Superstition. And because there is  
no such *Æquilibrium* Virtue, but has some flexure to one of the  
Extreams, he is very careful to publish the Extream alone, and  
to silence the Virtue.

But if the Prince hath by carriage of extraordinary Innocence,  
vindicated himself from Obloquy, (which shall scarce be, if small  
faults be rightly improved) then *Machiavel's* Advice must be fol-  
lowed, to calumniate stoutly, till the People have entertained  
something to his prejudice: 'Tis a figure in Politicks to make e-  
very infirmity a fault, and every fault a Crime: and if the People be  
disposed to Alteration, these must be first urged against a Monarch  
to depose him, or if need be, to murder him; which is commen-  
dable, if you can dress him up like a Tyrant, as you may find it  
justified by an honest *Scor*, who complains, that there are not some  
glorious rewards appointed for Tyrannicides; and by the best of  
Orators; *Gracos Deorum honores tribuisse iis, qui Tyrannos necave-  
runt, The Grecians gave Divine Honours to those that kill'd Tyrants.*  
And by the Tragedian.

*Buchanan.*

*Pro Milo-  
ne.*

*Victima*

*Victima baud ulla amplior potest,  
Magisve opima mactari Fovi,  
Quam Rex iniquus.*

More grateful Victim none to Fove can bring,  
Than is the Blood of slaughter'd unjust King.

*Hercules  
furens.*

And Secondly, These personal faults must be artificially devolved upon Monarchy it self.

There remains to disperse the commendation of that Government, which is intended for Successor; if *Aristocracy*, the long-liv'd prosperity of *Spuria* and *Venice*, is a very plausible evidence of its goodness; If *Democracy*, the happiness of the *Romans* under their Tribunes, is very memorable; to which may be added this out of *Machiavel*, that they are the most suitable Guardians of any thing, who are least desirous to usurp it: and without doubt, considering the designs of the Nobility, and the People, we must confess, that the first are very ambitious of Rule, the last desire only not to be oppress'd.

*Upus. Le.  
vi. p. 22.*

### COLASTERION.

I Presume that person is very rare, that can boast of such an absolute Saintship, whilst he is amongst Mortals, but that there will now and then some Actions fall from him, which confess Humanity, and require Candor, some Leaves in the Volume of the fairest Life, are *legenda cum venia*: If this be a common frailty, why do we fix such rigid Censures upon the miscarriages of Princes? or, why do we deny them the same mildness, which we use, when we commiserate the infirmities of other Men? 'Tis yet much more disingenuous to revive and pore upon a few bad Actions, which, it may be, have been long ago expiated with many good: Take this from no mean Statist--*Iniqua in omni re accusando, prætermisiss bonis, malorum enumeratio, viriorumque selectio; nam ne ullus quidem isto modo magistratus vituperabilis non erit.* 'Tis an unjust way of accusing to omit the good Offices of a Prince, and to select and publish only his bad, for by this means, no Magistrate shall be innocent.

As Greatness gives a Gloss to the Vertues of a Prince, so it mitigates his Vices; for if we look upon him, as circled with Honour, and all outward Enjoyments, we see withall, what variety of Temptations he hath to struggle with above others, having no other Guard, no other Weapon than his meer Vertue; sometimes we are defended from a Sin, by our very Impotency; it may be above our Sphere, or out of our reach; we do not, because we cannot; how often are our Wills Offenders, when our Hands are Innocent? We are checked from without, he commonly from within, having nothing to dispute with his immoderate Desires, but himself. This is that which inhabits the goodness of a Prince, as that excellent Poet leads his temperate Knight thro' all the delicacies and charms of Pleasure, and delivers him a Conqueror.

But suppose a Magistrate really Tyrannical; it is no contemptible question, Whether the Evils of the Redress may not be equivalent to the Mischief? I remember *Livy's*, *Nec morbum ferre possumus, nec remedium*: We can neither abide the Disease, nor the Remedy: And *Plutarch's* *πολεμὸν ἢ τὴν ἀνιστορίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνιστορίαν ἀνιστορίαν*, A Civil War is worse than an irregular Monarchy: And *Tacitus*, *Fe-*

*Spencer.*

*renda*

*renda regum ingenia neque usui esse crebras mutationes: vitia erunt donec homines, sed neque hec continua, & meliorum interventu pensantur: The humours of Kings are to be tolerated; nor is it useful to change them; whilst there are Men, there will be Vices. The miscarriages of a Prince may be great, but the Virtues of his Successor may be greater. And Seneca, Infelicitior agrotat, cui plus periculi à medico quam à morbo, He is unfortunately sick, that is more in danger of his Physician, than of his Disease. Poise the Miseries of a Civil War, with the Grievances of an unjust Magistrate, and the Politician must take many grains of Allowance from Fallacy to make the Scales even. For though the fury of incensed Tyranny may fall heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloody consequences of an Intestine Sword, are more epidemical and more permanent.*

*As to the charging the faults of a Governour upon the Government it self, I see nothing in it but Delusion, nor can there be a more gross abuse, than that of* *ἡ ἀποδοτικὴ νομιμὴ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ τοῦ ἀποδότης, To make the Office guilty of the Officer's abuse.*

*Hocrates.*

*Fo. Goodwin in his Anticaval-  
rism.*

For King-killing, because I know it a techy subject, I shall wholly omit all discourse of it; only I find it damn'd by an able English Divine, as Jesuitical; and Tacitus commends to Subjects rather *Scutum* than *Gladium*, the shield of Patience and Toleration, than the Sword.

## Principle IV.

*The Politician must nourish some Mercenary Jesuits, or other Divines, to cry up his Aims in their Churches, that so the Poyson may insinuate more generally into all the parts.*

*Aristophanes.*

**H**E that peruses History, will find, that there has been no Innovation so gross, no Rebellion so hideous, but hath some Ecclesiastical Fomenters; for such as want Worth enough of their own to reach Preferment in a regular way, are most apt to envy the just Honours of better Men; and despairing to obtain their end by Learning and Piety, they aspire to it by the crooked means of Faction and Schism. Nor are those despicable Instruments to the Politician; for the sharpest Sword in his Army cannot vie Services with a subtle Quill: You may see his business in the Comick, *ἡ ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ πολεμικὴ, Writing, Disputing,* that so his Tongue is a Shield to his Patron's Opinion, and a Sword to his Adversaries.

The Jesuite reckons it in the number of his Merits, if he may by any sinister ways ruffle and disorder Heretical Kingdoms (so he calls them) encourage weak and unstable Minds to slight Magistracy, irritate Divisions, Tumults, Rebellions, absolve from Oaths, and all sacred Ties; so that it is hard to find any Tragical Scene; or bloody Theatre, into which the Jesuite hath not intruded; and been as busie, as *Darius* in the Comedy, contributing in a very high measure to every Fanatick Insolence, justifying the old Lemma of *Loyola's* Picture,

*figure.*

ture, *Cavete vobis Principes*: These are the Firebrands of Europe, the Forge and Bellows of Sedition, Infernal Emisaries, the Pests of the Age, Men that live as if huge Sins would merit Heaven by an Antiperistasis. Classica et nere.

2. Nor is any Nation without some turbulent Spirits of its own, the dishonour of the Gown and Pulpit, the shame, and sometimes the ruin of their Country; you would think they had their Text from a Gazette, because you hear so much of a Curranto in the Application: That these may be fit implements for the Politician, there are these requisite qualifications.

1. There must be a principal Gift of wresting the Scripture, vexing and urging the Holy Text, constraining it to patronize the design; the great Apostle expresses this in three very Emphatical Terms. 1. Cogging the Dye, *KuCoia*. making the Word speak what they list. 2. Crafty Applications, and Expositions of it. 3. All the Methods and Arts of Couzenage, *Παρεσ- τια*. *τα λδγος*, gilding and varnishing rotten Doctrines; and this must be done *Μεθοδεα*.

1. In publick, Vomiting out Flames and Sulphur from that Sacred Pegma, *μαρτυρ*, where he should deliver none but mild and soft, that is, Evangelical Embassages.

2. In private, at Parlour Sermons, and Meeting-houses, where he is listaed to as to an Oracle; and here commonly he is more Enthusiast, than Scripturist, and his Audience believes his Dreams to be as Canonical as the Revelation; like those Melancthon speaks of: *Quicquid somniant, volunt esse Spiritum Sanctum*. *οικουμ*. *Εσ*. Their Dreams are all new Lights, or those that the Father chides, when he tells them that every whimsy is not Prophecy, *Ου παν ενουμνος υδους ομολογια*. *οπι*. *Εvangeli-* *οπι*. *οπι*.

3. He ought to be of some Abilities in Disputing; and what he wants in Logic, he must supply in Garrulity; for whatsoever he affirms, the interest he hath in his seduc'd Hearers, improves into a Syllogism. You ask after his Topics, *Ex officina carnificum argumenta petit*, He has his Arguments from Gregory, but not the Saint. If, after his Weapons, *Armatus se ad lacerandum per Christi nomen*, he carries the Name of Christ in the Van of Rebellion and Robbery, and the Wound he makes is Faction; those Consciences which will not surrender to his Parly, his Master takes by Storm: and thus he abuses Christ, by Strada, pretending his favour to unwarrantable Actions: he abuses his Prince, by alienating the Affection and Allegiance of his Subjects; he abuses the Church, by shattering it into Rents and Schisms, wounding it with a Feather from its own Wing, snatching a Coal from the Altar, to fire both Church and State: *nomine ar-* And lastly, He abuses himself; for when the Politician hath made his best use of mamin, *Ε* his seditious Spirit, he leaves him to his own wild Distempers, having directed *contra Ec-* his own thoughts to another Goal. *clesiam di-* *micatis*.

## COLASTERION.

Aug.

Although we have caution enough against these in sad and frequent Experiences, these latter Ages groaning under the effects of an Exorbitant Clergy; yet such is the easiness and credulity of the Vulgar; such the subtilty and dissembled Sanctity of the Impostor, that he meets with as a great propensel in the People to be couzen'd, as he brings Willingness to delude; for it is a true observation, that these Clancular Sermocinators bear as great sway in popular Minds, and make as deep impression upon their Consciences, as the *Zoyolists* do, when they impose upon their blind Laity.



I dare only subjoyn these few Advices.

*First*, I should suspect a Clerical Statist, I mean such a one as in the Dispensation of Sacred Oracles, tamper with secular Affairs; unless it be of high concernment to his Auditors Souls.

*Secondly*, I should believe him a Jugler, that sprinkles his Sermons with Murmurs against the lawful Magistrate, Ecclesiastical, or Civil, unless he hath some better ground for his dislike, than a thwarting his humour in things Controversial and Adiphorous.

*Thirdly*, I should more than doubt his knavery, that should suborn Scripture, to attest, or incite to illegal Actions, as of kin to that, which *Salvian* calls *Religiosum scelus*; Religious wickedness.

*Fourthly*, All News in Religion, whether in Doctrine or Discipline, is the common Screen of private Design. Let *Mecenas* tell it, *non est Evangelium ut sed sit cupiditas*, *non est doctrina sed sit idem exordium*, *modis per artem diuina adducitur.* All Innovators in Religion, let them be severely punished, for they are Fomenters of Sedition. Which is noted by the great *Cajunbon* in his Epistle before his Baronian Exercitations thus, *Cupiditas novandi, haec secum mala semper trahit, Christi inconfutibilem unitatem lacerat, sectas novas parit, & statim multiplicat, Ecclesiam & populum concutit*, &c. Novelties in the Church are never without these sad consequences; They rend the seamless Coat of our Blessed Saviour; they breed Schisms, and then brood and multiply them; they shake the Fundamentals of Church and State, &c.

'Tis sad to see *Urania*, Divine Urania, inroll'd in Bloud; the Stars and Luminaries of the Church, to shed such black and malignant Influences; in lieu of Pious Documents, to hear none but furious Incentives;

*Ita alacres, rursaque, precor,  
confidite Causa;*

No matter for the Church, or Laws,  
You may confide in such a Cause.

The cause they serve is the Doctrine and the Use, the Egg, the Apple, the head and foot of all their Discourses; if you like to confer Notes, you may find a piece of their Sermon in *Barclay* to this effect, *Se Evangelii libertatem praedicare, nullam Christianis animis vim inferre, suam cuique conscientiam liberam relinquare, Verbo docere, non vi quemquam adigere, eam esse Evangelii Doctrinam, ut omnes conscientia fruantur libertate: sibi que ut id liceat, votis omnibus postulare.* They extol Evangelical Liberty, that no Christian Minds should be yok'd with Christ's Government; that all should enjoy free Consciences; that the Gospel is soft and mild, nor does it seek to reduce any by Violence; they beg the same enlargement and scope for themselves, which they allow to others,

## Principle V.

*If Success waits upon his Enterprises, he urges it to authenticate his Cause.*

**T**Here is no Argument more popular than Success, because the bulk of Men is not able to distinguish the permission of God from his Approbation: And although it be in it self fallacious and feeble, yet the Misery of the Conquered denies them the opportunity to dispute it; for the opposition of the Sword will never be confuted by the bare Fift of

Logick. Nor doth the Victor commonly permit any ventilation of his Distates; for when the Body is a Slave, why should the Reason be free? *Δῶκε μὴ οὐκ ἐμὲ καὶ οὐ λόγος*. As the Souldiers in *Plutarch* wondred any would be so In Pompeio. impotunate to preach Laws and Moral Reasons to Men with Swords by their sides; *Οὐ μὴ οὐκ ἐμὲ καὶ οὐ λόγος*. As if Arms knew not how to descend to rational Inquiries, but were enough justified by an odd kind of Necessity of their own creating; like those in *Livy*. *In armis jus ferre, Omnia forisum virorum esse*; That all Laws are engraven on the Hilt of a victorious Sword, to whose *Mandamus* all other Statutes must submit.

I have often considered with my self, what should move Tyrants to print Justifications of themselves, and Assertions of their proceedings, which I suppose never made an understanding Man a Convert; nor met with a cordial reception in any, unless the abuse of a few poor shallow Believers, be thought a Triumph worth their Pains. I have sometimes thought, they do by these Papers please themselves in their Abilities to delude, and so gratifie their Tyranny over the noblest part of Man, by denying the liberty of the Thought, and subduing the powers of the Soul to an implicit coherence with their own Magisterial Opinions.

But our Politician, by quoting the Success of his Undertakings, besides the plainfidence and insinuating nature of the Proposition itself, hath the advantage of Power to make us believe him.

Nor is this bait contemptible; many of Parts and Prudence, yea, and of Religion, have been stagger'd by it. Some question whether *Dionysius* deserv'd the brand of Atheism, considering the wild conceits they then had of their Gods; or differed from the Common Creed, trying out, *Ob hoc the Gods favour Sacrilege!* when he had a merry gale after a sacrilegious Attempt. The best of the Roman Historians calls the Victory the just Arbitress of the Cause, *Eventus belli, velut agnus Judex, unde jus stat, ei victoriam dabit*, The event of the War, like an impartial Judge, shall knit Victory and Right together: So hard it is to persuade meer Reason, That Vertue may be unfortunate, and Vice happy.

He was no small Poet, that argued himself out of his Gods, by seeing Wick- edness honoured, and worth flighted; which he expresses thus;

<i>Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo, Pompeius nullo; quis piacet Effe Deos?</i>	<i>In English.</i> Licinus does in Marble sleep, A common Urn does Cato keep, Pompey's Ashes may catch cold, That there are Gods, let Dotards hold.
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There may be some use made of that in *Seneca*, *Honesti quædam scelera successus facit*, Prosperous Mischiefs are Cardinal Vertues in the World's Books; and therefore the Tragedian repeats it, *Prosperum ac felix scelus virus vocatur*. The unwarrantableness is hid and concealed in the glory of the Success; we often praise the Macedonian Conquest, but seldom mention their boundless and unjust Ambition.

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miscarry, we censure it; so that according to the vogue of the World, tis the event that gives the colour to the Action, and denominates it good or bad, *τὸ κατὰ τὸν τιμῶμεν, τὸ ἀπολαύειν*. We adore the Fortunate, and despise the Conquer'd.

## COLASTERION.

There is some of this Leaven in the Judgments of most, notwithstanding those brighter Discoveries, in the Noon of Christianity we live under. A Bible thoroughly observ'd, would expound to us much of the Riddle, and dark passages of Providence; we are so short-sighted, that we cannot see beyond time; we value things, and Men, by their temporal Prosperities, and transient Glories; whereas if we put Eternity into the other Scale, it would much out-poise that worldly Lustre that so much abuses our Eye, and conuzons our Understandings.

I find not in Holy Writ, that God hath inseparably annex'd Goodness and Greatness, Justice and Victory: He hath secured his Servants of the Felicities of a better Life, but not of this. Christ's Kingdom was not, our Happiness is not of this World.

Nor doth my Bible shew me any Warrant for appeal to Heaven for the decision of this, or that intricacy, by bestowing Success upon this Party, or that Cause, according to its Righteousness and due merit. There is a vast difference betwixt *Amos* and *Manasse*, even in the Scripture Construction.

The great Turk may justly exult and prune himself in discourses of this nature, if they be once admitted, and own'd by Christians: And I shall forbear any longer, to think *Mahomet* an Impostor, and must receive the *Alcoran* for Gospel, if I shall be convinced, that temporal happiness and triumph, are a true Index of divine Favour. Our Religion hath something more to invite our closure with it; it proposes a conveniency on Earth, but the Crowns and Garlands are reserv'd for Heaven.

In *Plautus*.

The Money-God, in *Aristophanes*, pretends a command from *Jupiter*, to distribute as great a Largess to the Wicked, as to the Good; because if Vertue should once appropriate Riches, that fair Goddess would be more wooed for her Dowry, than for her native Beauty: So if Religion were attended with those outward allurements that most take the Senses, we should be apt to follow Christ for the Loaves, and overlook the spiritual Charms, and more noble ends of Christianity.

The Heathen could say, *Felix prædo, mundo exemplum inutile*, Happy Piracy is a thing of unhappy Presidency; fortunate Sins may prove dangerous Temptations; But to say, that God doth signally attest the Actions of such a Person, or the Justice of such a Cause, by permitting it to prosper, and taper up in the World; is such a deceit, as deserves our serious abhorrency — I leave it with *Ovid's* wish,

*Cæreat successibus opto,* | Let him for ever in success be poor,  
*Quisquis ab eveni facta notanda putat.* | That thinks it justifies his Cause the more.

## Principle VI.

*The Politician must change with the Times.*

**T**hat Alterations and Revolutions in Kingdoms, are the Rods with which God scourges miscarrying Princes, is resolv'd by my Lord of *Argenton*; to which may be added out of *Aristotle*, in the fifth of his *Politicks*—*Per fraudem & dolum regna evertuntur*, That the Ruines of a Kingdom are often deriv'd from Fraud and Subtilties: I shall omit inquiry into other causes, as foreign to my present Purpose.

The Politician knows best how to improve these popular Gusts, because he caus'd them; such a Storm is his Seed-time, 'Tis the boast of a *Dutch-man*, that he can sail with all Winds; the aspiring Man observes the quarter whence the fair ft gales of Preferment blow, and spreads the sails of his Ambition to entertain them; nor can the Compass breath more Varieties, than his dexterous Soul has Changes and Garbs, and suitable Compliances.

What the Orator calls his top and perfection, to make happy Application to the several humours and genius of all sorts of Men, qualifying his Address with what he knows, will most charm the person he treats; that the Politician does not only with his Lip, but Life, you may find all those Figures and Tropes digested into his Actions, and made practical, that are in the other only vocal.

He remembers that of an English Marquis (*Pawlet of Winchester*) who having successfully served four Princes, and still in the same room of Favour, unshaken with the vicissitudes he had run through; being ask'd by one, by what means he preserv'd his Fortune; he replies, that he was made, *ex salice, non ex quercu*, of the pliant Willow, not stubborn Oak, always of the prevailing Religion, and a zealous Professor. This easiness and bending is of absolute necessity; for, if the same temper, which insinuated in violent times, were retain'd in a compos'd and settled Government, it would be altogether distastful; and so on the contrary.

Nanton's  
Regalia.

Therefore if Religion be fashionable, you can scarcely distinguish him from a Saint, he does not only reverence the holy Ministers, but if need be, he can preach himself: If Cunctation prevails, he acts *Fabius*: If the Buckler must be changed for a Sword, he personates *Marcellus*: If mildness be useful, *Soderini* of *Perice* was not more a Lamb than he: If severities are requisite, *Nero's* Butcheries are Sanctities, compar'd with his: As *Alcibiades*, in *Plutarch*, shifted disposition as he alter'd place, (being voluptuous and jovial in *Ionia*, frugal and retir'd in *Lacedæmon*) so he proportions himself to time, place, person, Religion, with such a plausibleness, as if he had been born only to serve that opinion, which he harboured but as a Guest, whilst it continued in sway: Having a room in his Heart, if occasion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour, as he once us'd to extol the former. And thus like a subtle *Proteus*, he assumes that shape that is most in grace, and of most profitable conducement to his ends, *in eo stant consilia, quod sibi conducere putat*, All his consultations turn upon the hinge of self-interest.

He abounds in that which *Varro* calls, *versatile ingenium*, a voluble Wit, like *Rota figuræ* the changeling derided by *Plautus*, as more turning than a Potter's Wheel.

He flor.

He hath his advantage of the *Chameleon*, that he can assume whiteness : for I find him often wearing the vest of Innocency, to conceal the Ugliness, and blackness of his Attempts.

Finally, He is the Heliotrope to the Sun of Honour, and hath long since abjured his God, Religion, Conscience, and all that shall interpose, and skreen him from those Beams, that may ripen his wishes, and aims into enjoyments.

Now I shall add one more quality, which is, that he is a *COLASTERION*.

**B**UT the true Statesman is inviolably constant to his principles of Vertue and Religious Prudence ; and his ends are noble, and the means he uses innocent : He hath a single Eye on the publick good ; and if the Ship of the State miscarry, he had rather perish in the wreck, than preserve himself upon the plank of an inglorious subterfuge. His worth hath led him to the Helm, the Rudder he uses, is an honest and vigorous Willdom, the Star he looks to for direction is in Heaven, and the Port he aims at, is the joynt welfare of Prince and People.

This Constancy is that solid Rock upon which the wise *Venetian* hath built its long-liv'd Republick : so that it is not improbable the Maiden Queen borrow'd her Motto of *Semper Eadem*, from this Maiden Common-wealth.

'Tis true, something is to be conceded to the place, and time, and person ; and I grant that there are many innocent Compliances. *Virgil's oblique sinus*, is observable, there may be a bending without crookedness : We may *circumire*, and yet not *aberrare* ; *Paul* became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, but he did not become a Sinner, that he might gain Sinners ; he was made all things to all Men, but he was not made Sin to any ; that is, his Condescensions were such, as did well consist with his Christian integrity.

Greatness and Honours, and Riches, and Scepters, those glorious Temptations, that so much inamour the doting World, are too poor shrines for such a Sacrifice as Conscience, which the Politician hath so much abused by an inveterate neglect, that it is become Menstruous, Ephemeral.

## Principle VII.

*If the Politician find reason to impose Oaths, let them be of such ambiguity as may furnish with a Sense obliging to the Design, and yet so soft as the People may not feel the Snare.*

**I**T appears by sad Experience, that in propounding of Oaths, requiring Promises, and other solemnities, there have been multitudes induced to bind themselves upon some secret, loose, and mental reservation ; which they have fram'd to themselves as a *salvo* in case of breach : So apt we are in Affairs of greatest importance, to advise more with corrupt Wit, than sound Conscience.

In the Catalogue of Self-delusions, you may possibly find these :

1. We are ready to interpret the words too kindly, especially if they be ambiguous ; and it is hard to find terms so positive, but that they be eluded indeed, or seem to us to be so, if we be disposed.

2. Some



2. Some are invited to illicit Promises *quæ* illicit, because they know them to be more in valide.

3. Some are frighted into these bonds by threats and losses, and temporal concerns, and then they please themselves that they swear by Durefs, and so are disengaged.

4. Some are Oath-proof; I mean there are such fear-scul'd Men, as will swear Pro and Con.

5. Some have learned from the *Civilians*, that though we swear to a thing not materially unlawful, yet if it impedes a greater moral good, it becomes void.

Grot. de  
Jur. Belli,  
245.

6. Some take liberty to swear, because they judge the person to whom they swear incapable of an Oath: As *Cicero* defends the breach of Oath to a Thief, from Perjury; and *Brutus*, to a Tyrant; as it is in *Appian*, *id est* *non est* *perjurium* *quia* *non est* *honestum* *perjurium* *ut* *violare* *fidem* *cum* *Tyrantibus*. The Romans esteem it an honest perjury to violate their Faith with Tyrants.

The first sort of these falls most properly under the notice and practice of our Politician; though he may also use the last, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to cast his desire into such soft glib expression, as will down with most: Yes, with many that would absolutely disavow the same thing in rough Language. If he be unskill'd in this black Art, I commend him to the Pedagogy of the *Delpbick* Devil.

Now it is most certain, there is no other tie of such security, and establishment, to a person that hath ravished Greatness, and acquired it by Violence. Usurpation hath only these two Pillars, its own Arms and Militia, and publick Oath and acknowledgement; and it is scarce worth Query, whether, when the Grofs of a Nation is thus bound, the Oath be not as valid, and the Confidence as much concerned, as if it had been sworn to a lawful Prince. It is reasonable, that an usurping power cannot upon any prudent persuasion, have the same confidence in the love of the People that a Just hath: Nor is the following Government inticing, as *Tacitus* notes, *Nec quisquam imperium malis artibus quatum bene administravit*, Never any Kingdom, badly acquired, was well administr'd. The same with *Cæsar*, where one objecting the Vices of Princes, receives this answer, *Perche non erano Principi per natura, ma per violenza, & erano più temuti che amati*: Therefore they were not natural Princes, but violent Usurpers; and so more beholding to the fear, than love of their Subjects. And therefore if the Politician can by the blessed means forementioned, gain a Superiority, there is no trusting to those ingenious Guards, his own Goodness, and the Love of others: His best defence is Aw and Fear, and Scaffold, and Gibbet, and the like. For he that hath no voluntary room in the Hearts of his People, must use all meansto gain a coercive.

De civil.  
convers. l.  
2. p. 132.

For his own promises, he puts them into the same bottomless Bag, which the Poets say, *Jupiter* made for Lovers' asseverations: His word is as good as his Oath; for they are both trifles, as it is in *Plautus*.

--- *Pactum non pactum est*,  
*Non pactum pactum est, cum illis lubet.*

A bargain shall no bargain be,  
If I can no advantage see;  
A bargain shall a bargain be,  
If it with my designs agree.

Aulular.

'Twas he that first invented that useful distinction of a Lip-oath, and a Heart-oath; you may find him in *Euripides*.

*Furata lingua est, mente juravi nihil.* [ I with my Tongue can swear,  
And with my Heart forbear.

He makes good use of that in *Plutarch*, *ὅτι ἡ παιδεία ἐργασίας δὲν ὁμαρτὰν*  
*ὅτι δὲ ἄνδρες ὁμαρτὰν*, That Children are to be couzene'd with Rattles, and men with  
Oaths.

'Tis an huge Advantage, that Man hath in a credulous World, that can easily  
say and swear to any thing; and yet withal, so palliate his Balsifications and Per-  
juries, as to hide them from the Conscience of most; the Politician must be fur-  
nished with handsome Refuges, that may seemingly heal mis-carriages this way.  
He need not spend much time in inquiry after such helps; these declining Ages  
will abundantly furnish his invention.

CO-LA-S-T-E-R-I-O-N.

**A**N Oath is in it self a Religious Affirmation, a promise with God's Seal; and  
therefore it concerns Christians to be cautious before swearing, to swear  
liquidly, and to observe conscientiously. 'Tis pity such slender Evasions should fas-  
tish us, as have been scord'd by Heathens. We are bound (says one of them)  
to the sense of the imposer, or else we do *ῥαυδὲν*; we are bound to the per-  
formance of what we have thus sworn, or else we do *ῥαυδὲν*. 'Tis much,  
that a moral Conscience should more check them, than a clearer light can aw us;  
as if they more honour'd the Genius of a *Cela*, than we reverence the presence  
of a God, or else we should never ingage in new protestations that do interfere; yea,  
and sometimes positively quarrel with old. They had their *ὁλοὶ ὁμῶν*,  
their Perjury-revenging Gods, to whose vindictive power they referred their Of-  
fenders; they punish'd such as swore falsely by their Prince with suffigation; but  
such as abused their Gods, were left to the dispose of their injured Deities, as if  
they were at a loss, how to find a punishment equal to the sin. Hear how soberly  
*Plato* mentions it (out of the noble Commentator upon *Plotin*) *En toutes ma-  
nieres c'este un fort belle ordonnance & institution, de n'aler point au nom des Dieux le-  
gement, de peur de les contaminer; car la Majeste des Dieux ne se doit employer, qu'en  
un sainte & venerable purete. It is wisely ordain'd, that the Names of the Gods should not  
be used upon trifling occasions, for fear of polluting them; for the Majesty of the Gods  
should not be employed, but in holy and venerable Purity. See what real honour they  
gave to their counterfeit Gods: Let us have a care, that we ascribe not counter-  
feit honour to the true God.*

Our God hates every false Oath: It appears in his severity to *Zedekiah*, for  
breaking Covenant with the *Babylonian Monarch*, though a Tyrant of the first  
magnitude.

Were all Subjects duly solicitous about the weight of this bond, we should be  
less prone to take, and more studious to observe it; I remember the Scholiast upon  
*Aristophanes*, derives *ἄρκτος*, *ὅτι τὸ ἄρκτος, τὸ συγκρατεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐκείν, ὅτι ἐκείν*  
*τὸν ἄρκτον*. It hedges in, and shuts up a Man, and ties his hands behind him;  
I know not how some Conquerors may cut this Knot with the Sword, or how some  
samphons may shake off these Cords; or what gaps the Licentious may make in this  
hedge; but such as value God, or Heaven, or Prince, or Peace, can discover it no  
way better than in a sincere use of so Divine an Ordinance.

There can be no certain rule given, when to believe, and when not; what such

as aubon  
mercator.  
102.

as are, or would be great, please to inculcate to us: I find more wracks upon the Rock of credulity; and tis no Heresie to affirm, that many have been saved by their infidelity; I commend that of *Epicarmus*,

*Nunc, si credideris a me.*

## Principle VIII.

*Necessity of State, is a very competent Apology for the worst of Actions.*

**I**T has been observed, that in all Innovations and Rebellions (which ordinarily have their rise from pretences of Religion, or Reformation, or both) the breach, and neglect of Laws hath been authorized by that great Patroness of illegal Actions---Necessity.

Now the Politician is never without such an Advocate as this; for he cares not to distinguish, whether the necessity be of his own creating, or no; as for the most part it is, being indeed an Appendix to the wrong he undertakes, and signifies no more, than that he is compell'd to cover wrong with wrong, as if the Commission of a second Sin were enough to justify the first.

He changes that old charitable Advice -- *Benefacta benefactis aliis perpergit ne perperant*; into *vitia vitis aliis perpergit ne perperant*; that so heaping one crime upon another, the latter may defend the former from the stroke of Justice.

He adores that Maxim in *Livy*, *Fustum est bellum quibus necessarium, & pia arma quibus in armis spes est*, That War must needs be just that is necessary, and whose Arms pi-  
leave his Crutch, that cannot walk without; 'tis no less unnatural to invite him to quit his Sword, whose Life and Fortune leans intirely upon it.

If he can insinuate the scope of the War to be legal, a little daubing will serve to legalize the Circumstances: That of the Civilians must be remembered-- *Licet in bello que ad finem sunt necessaria*, Nothing is unlawful in War, that serves the end and design of it. The Oracles of the Gown are too tender for Sword-Men; and it may be, he had Wit in his Anger, who affirm'd, that Martial Law was as great a Solace, as Martial Peace.

If the People be once posselt that his aim and intention is fair, they will never expect that the *Media* for attainment of his end should be retrenched by the strict Boundaries of Law: He mannaages that rule very practically, *Rem alienam, ex qua certum mihi periculum eminet, citra culpe alienae considerationem invadere possum*, I may invade any thing of any mans that threatens certain danger to me, if I suffer him to enjoy it. Now he can very plausibly make this *periculum certum*, or *incertum*, as shall best suit with his Affairs.

It is a broad liberty that *Gronius* concedes, *Quare si vitam aliter servare non possum, licet mihi vi qualicunque arcere eum qui eam impetit, licet peccato vacet*; & hoc ex jure, quod mihi pro me natura concedit: If I have no other way to assure my Life, I may by any means, repel any power that assaults it, though just: Self-defence being a clear dictate of Nature. When Life, and Liberty, and Safety come in question, there ought no consideration to be had of just or unjust, pitiful or cruel, honourable or dishonourable.

*Lex  
avares,  
Sava neces-  
sitas.*

*Victor. de  
jure belli,  
n. 18. 39.*

*G. de jure  
Belli, p.  
424.  
Mab. on  
Livy, 627.*

Now when the People have according to his desire, got over the great Obstacle, and digested the Plot for Pious; it is easie to set all future proceedings upon the score of Liberty, Safety, Religion; and if he be constrained to use means grossly unlawful, 'tis but to make them seem Holy in the Application, and all's well. For it is the humour and genius of the Vulgar; when they have once rushed into a party implicitly, to prosecute it as desperately, as if they were under demonstrative Convictions of it's Justice.

Finally, He must make a vertue of Necessity, because there is no other vertue will so easily be induced to serve his proceedings as this; the may well smile upon Licentiousness, who hath herself no Law.

### COLASTERION.

**L**ET that great Rule be received, that no Man can be necessitated to Sin: Our Divines generally damn an officious Lye, and the equity binds from an officious Sin.

It would soon cut the Nerves of the Eighth Commandment, if Necessities and Urgencies, though real, were pronounced a sufficient excuse for Stealing. But that which our Politician calls Necessity, is no more than necessity of Convenience, nor so much, except we interpret that Convenience, which may favour his own ends, and so is convenient for his design. He uses Necessity as the old Philosophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpose; that was their refuge for Ignorance, this is his Sanctuary for Sin.

*Refs. l. 11.* Those Citizens that are most charitable to necessity, make it no plea at all, except it be absolute and insuperable; as by the Platonick Laws, only those persons are allowed to drink at their Neighbours Well, that had in vain sought a Spring, by digging fifty Cubits deep in their own Ground. We allow the disburdening of a Ship, in imminent perils of Wrack; but this will not excuse those, who upon a fond or feigned provision of a State-Tempest, shall immediately cast Law and Conscience over-board; discard, and quit Rudder and Steerage, and so assist the Danger they pretend to fear.

*Cal.  
Bbodig.  
1025.*

*Pausanias* tells of a Chappel in *Acrocorinth*, dedicated to Necessity and Violence; those Twin-Goddesses may be fit objects for the worship of Heathens; but 'tis pity they should be so much adored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamental-deceit lies in a greedy entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid Propositions are made to us, before they have passed those Scrutinies, and severe inquiries they deserve; or been examined by the test of God's Word, and National Laws: all the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurdity we first granted; according to the ancient Philosophick Maxim, *Ἐνδεύοντες ἀδύνατον, μήλα ἀναγκάσειν ἐνυπλάσαν.*

### Principle IX.

*The Politician must weave all Relations, both Sacred and Civil, and swim to his design, though in a Sea of Blood.*

**S**uch as study to be great by any means, must by all means forget to be good; and they that will usurp Dominion over others, must first become Slaves to the work of Tyrants, a Lust after Greatness.

*Cressis.*

*Crescit interea Roma Alba ruinis*, begins one of the Decads, that the Walls of Rome were cemented with Blood, is known, and commended by *Machiavel*; Al- U pon Lib. though the Superstructure was brave, yet if we search the foundation, we shall 1. 2. c. 3. find it laid in the red Ruins of her wasted Neighbours; that the first Founder be- *Thebe ma-* came a fratricide upon reason of State, to guard his new Conquest, by freedom *ritum, Ti-* from a Competitor, is not only vindicated from Cruelty, but asserted to be a piece *moleon fra-* of meritorious Policy. Nor did this happen to the City in its structure alone, but *rem, Gaf-* after in its reparation; when the Sons of *Brutus* were sacrific'd to the design of their *sius filium,* Father: So that Rome was not only nurs'd with Blood, but after growth and ripe- *hoc iure in-* ness, she sustained her self, lived and thrived upon *Magna & sanguinolenta latroci-* *verferece.* *nia*; so that our Politician can scarce want examples in the applauded Actions of this City, to patronize the most crimson and scarlet Sin, that Ambition can prompt.

He admires the generosity of *Nero's* Mother, who is reported to have said of her Son, *Amuliusdrus us, idem fratricidus*, Let my Son be my Murderer, so he may be a Monarch: According to the advice of an high spirited fury, *Pro Regno velim patriam, penates, conjugem summis dare, Imperis pretio quolibet constans bene*: An Empire cannot be purchased too dear, though it cost the Blood of Millions.

He is much taken with the Gallantry of the *Mamlukes*, who abused the easiness of the *Egyptian Sultan*, and wore the Supremacy three hundred years, upon the length and keenness of an usurping Sword.

And rather than want a Bongrace, he commends the *Ottoman* Wisdom; for the great *Turk* rivets himself to the Imperial Chair, with the Bones of his murdered Brethren. Aspiring desires are not only insatiate, but admit of any Sin that will promote their ends: See *Bassianus* murdering his Brother *Geta* in his Mothers Arms; *Andronicus* strangling his Cousen *Alexius*, lest he should have a part in the Empire, that had right to all; See *Cesar* slighting the Oaths by which he had obliged his obedience to the Roman Senate.

Finally, Ambition knows no confinement, nothing so sacred, but it violates. The Gods must bow and yield to it, as *Tertullian*, *In negotium sine Deorum injuria non est, eadem strages manium & Templorum*; *tot sacrilegia Romanorum, quot trophea*; *tot de Diis quot de Gentibus Triumphi*; 'Tis impossible to be ambitious without injury to the Gods; Temples themselves are not exempted from the fury of War; the sacrileges of the Romans were as numerous as their Trophies, yet the Gods followed their triumphant Chariots.

In Apolo-  
ges.

## COLASTERION.

THE Italian Politician seems to intimate a scruple, when he says,-- *Si jus violandum est, regnandi causa violandum est*. His (if) dictates an uncertainty; and if we appeal to the Bar of Nature, or Divinity (though possibly the entire Assertion may have something of truth) yet we shall find that wicked (if) absolutely banished.

'Tis true, we may more justly pity him, that swallows a bait fair and glistening, than a person that tempts Temptations to deceive him; or catches at Flies, and trifling Allurements; because in the first case a greater reluctance is requisite, and the Dart may possibly be so sharp, as to pierce through the Armour of a sober Resolution; but all this will little succour him, who knows it to be a Bait, and hath beforehand designed its Beauty, and Fairness, to apologize for the foulness of the Sin; for here the greatness of the Temptation will not at all extenuate the grossness of the Crime: No more than he mitigates his Robbery, who shall plead, that he stole nothing but Gold and Jewels.

The



The World is much mistaken in the value of a Scepter, or Crown, we gaze upon its brightness, and forget its brittleness; we look upon its Glory, and forget its frailty; we respect its colour, and take no notice of its weight. But if all those gay things which we fondly fancy to our selves, were really to be found in Greatness, yet still he pays too dear, that pawns his Heaven for it; he that thus buys a short Bliss, gives not twenty or an hundred years purchase; but (if mercy prevent not) Eternity.

It will be little advantage here, to introduce the example of a *Roman*, or *Turk*, or *Christian*, if unlawful; such Presidents may baffle the Vulgar, (in whose Creed you may insert what you please) but will be very cold answers, when we appear before a severe Tribunal: It concerns us rather to observe how Ambition claims Kindred with every other Vice, troops and takes up every Sin lies in its way; and, in upon enquiry, we find it to be indeed such a complicated mischief, it will become us studiously to shun it our selves, and seriously to detect it in others.

## Principle X.

*A general Innovation contributes much to the growth and security of U-  
surpation.*

**W**E may receive this as a Tradition, handed to us from the great Patriarchs of Policy, attested by the practice of the subtlest times; I presume it may be grounded upon these, or the like persuasions.

1. Because such an Innovation raises the Dust, and begets a Cloud for the main Design; for when the Waters are troubled, 'tis hard to see the Bait.

2. Because the Parenthesis betwixt an old and new Government, flatters the hopes of all parties, soothing those desires that are for a relapse into the old, and yet incouraging those that wish for the establishment of a new.

3. Because when all things are reduced into a Chaos and rude heap, when all the Lines and Lineaments of the former Government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old sooner forgotten; for, suppose a Kingdom made a Lump, without shape, and void, and it is like *materia prima*, prone to imbrace any form; when an instrument is distund, you may set it to what Key you please; and he that cannot sometimes loosen the Strings, will never make good Music upon *Janeus* his Harp.

4. Because by new moulding of Jurisdictions, and Offices of State, there may be a fair opportunity offered, of gratifying those that have serv'd us; and for others, its very familiar to see some stubborn and rigid Opinitors, who have continued long unshaken, either by threat or argument, at length to surrender their Principles, and bow the Knee before the Dagon of Honour and Riches; such is the flexanimous power of golden Eloquence, as it is in the *Adage*:

*The Army & the people march* The two great Pillars which the mind uphold,  
*Adieu.* Not being Mammon proof, do bow to Gold.

Besides, we can find no better way to breed an absolute dependance, and make others adhere to our Fortunes, than by winding the concerns of other Men upon the same bottom with our Interest; we may observe this from the practice of great Favourites, who always delight in these props, and are careful to set their whole Tribes in the Sun-shine of Favour.

7. Because such a general De-ordination gives a taste and relish to the succeeding Government; though in it self not so delectable; for *Aristotle* notes, That Democracy is better than Anarchy. 3 Pol.

There are many other advantages to be made by a due improvement of those turbid intervals; as the occasion of subdividing, and parcelling out your great end; for by this means, they which refused to close with it in gross, will receive it in retail: and having entertained some Portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole, will be by degrees quieted and appeas'd.

Besides, when all things are ruffled and confused, it is then the Devil's Holy-day, and therefore our Work-day: The noise is so loud, that it drowns the Voice of the Law; and there may be some truth in his Waggers, who said, That such as mean to commit Rape upon the Body Politick, must put out the Laws; as others upon a like occasion use to put out the Lights.

Finally, if we ever hope to sin with Impunity, to usurp prosperously, or to govern Arbitrarily, we must take out that Lesson in *Plautus*.

<i>Idem facere, quod plurimi alii quibus Res</i>	If my own Affairs require,
<i>timida et turbida est;</i>	I can set the State on fire,
<i>Pergunt turbare usque, ut ne quid possit</i>	Let the ruin'd Kingdom bleed,
<i>conquiescere.</i>	So my private ends may speed;
	I can dance in such a storm,
	'Tis a new way to reforms.

### COLASTERION.

THIS most certain, that sinister ends are promoted by Innovations; but it lies in our Bosoms, to promote or quench the Innovations themselves; which we can no way better do, than by a strict adherence to the Laws; for as long as we maintain them, they will maintain us: If we observe these, it will rescue us from the hands of State-Novellists; for we are not fit for their turns, till we are cross-biased with faction.

As a caution against changes in Government, give me leave to repeat, what was long since told us by an ingenious Lord--- That all great Mutations are dangerous; even where what is introduced by that Mutation, is such as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation; and it is none of the least dangers of change, that all the perils and inconveniences which it brings, cannot be foreseen; and therefore such as make Title to Wisdom, will not undergo great dangers, but for great Necessities. *Paulkland.*

But farther let me appeal to general Experience; yea, let me ask thee (Reader) if thou hast never before heard, or read of a Nation, that was once the gaze and envy of its Neighbours; and yet being insensible of its happiness, or possess with fond hopes of bettering its condition, has closed with pretended Friends, and real Enemies, and gladly contributed to its own Ruine?

So apt Men are to catch at the shadow, though they hazard the substance; we may guess at the moral of the Frogs, in the Fable, who could find no satisfaction in a still Prince, and were after forced to abide the severities of a Tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be such Distempers in a State, as shall necessarily require amendment, let it be done with the Pruning-hook of the Law, and not with the Sword of Violence; For I never read, that Illegal, or Tumultuous, or Rebellious, were fit Epithets for Reformation. And 'tis fit Christians should forbear the use of such furlly Phyllick, till they have levied a fine in the Court of Heaven, and cut off the Intail of the seventh Beatitude.

This

This may suffice to reveal in some measure *Arcanum Ambitionis, Iniquitatis, perniciem*. I could add much more, but that I judge it a sifter task for our Neighbours, when Pens shall be infranchised.

And now (Reader) let us mix our Prayers, that God would for ever banish this cursed Policy out of *Europe*, and the whole Christian World; and damn it down to Hell, from whence originally it came; and let such as delight to abuse others, think of that self-cousenage, with which in the interim they abuse themselves; God permitting the Devil to revenge the Imposture. And whilst we are busie with Politick Stratagems, and tortious Arms to invade the Rights of others; let us all consider, that this is not the Violence which takes Heaven.

Let it be a piece of our daily Oraisons, that God would guard our Pulpits from such Boutefeus, as like *Etna* and *Vesuvius*, belched out nothing but Flames and fiery Discourses, using the Scripture as preposterously and impertinently, as some Pontificians, who transported with the vehemence of *Silkebrand's* zeal, think the temporal Monarchy of Popes sufficiently Scriptural from the saying of Christ to *Peter*.— *Pasce oves*. Far be it from us to intitle the Spirit of God to exorbitant Doctrines; it is easie to distinguish the Vulture from the Dove. The miscarriages of the Clergy have a deeper stain from the sacredness of their Function, as probably he that invenomed the Eucharist, has the more to answer for his Triple Crown.

It is manifest, that we are fallen into the dregs of time; we live in the rust of the Iron-Age, and must accordingly expect to feel, *ultima senectutis mundi deliria*, the Dotages of a decrepit World: What is become of Truth, Sincerity, Charity, Humility, those *Aurique mores*, whither are they gone? Did they attend *Ahas* into Heaven, and have left such degenerate Successors, as Cruelty, Pride, Fraud, Envy, Oppression, &c. Such qualities as abundantly justify the worst of Heathens, and dishonour the Name of Christians: I think it may safely be affirmed, that if a new *Europa scriptum* were sincerely written, it might be contracted into this short Summary:

*Nunc ego hoc seculum quibus moribus sit; Malus bonum malum esse vult, ut si sui similis; turbae miscet mores mali; Rapax, Avarus, Invidus, sacrum profanum, publicum privatum habebit.*

I know the various humors of our times;  
He that is wicked now, inflames his Crimes,  
By making Profelytes to Hell, and be  
Foy in it, that be may have company

*Hinc la Geni, &c.*

Wolves are of late sun'd Shepherds, surely

In Rapines, Murders, Thefts, now none can  
His own, except be like them, a Knave.  
The Church is stript by sacrilegious bands,  
They that divided all, divide the Lands.

That have such Guardians, are extremely free.

THAT Eternal Majesty, which raised so brave a Fabrick out of such indisposed materials; that wields the World with his finger ever since it was made; that controules the Waves, and checks the tumult of the People, that sits above and laughs at the malignant Counsels, and Devices of wicked Men: Let his mercy be implored for the speedy succour of his distressed Church; that the Rod of *Aaron* may blossom; that the Tabernacle of *David* may be raised; that the subtle may be caught in their own snare; and that the Result of all Afflictions may be the greating his Glory, and exalting of his Scepter.